***The Exhaustion of the Multicultural Australian Philosophy and the Rise
of a New Visual Regime of Signification: Melbourne
between Multiculturalism and Globalization***

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Abstract
The Second World War caused unprecedented hardship, but it also accelerated
change. Masses of European immigrants reached Australia's shores, giving rise to a
sort of ideal multi-ethnic society. Between history and myth, diverse ethnic groups
interacted without coalescing and by maintaining distinctive, national or group
cultural identities. Indeed Melbourne rose as one of the world's most multicultural
cities, with the largest transnational immigrant populations in Australia. At the dawn
of the twenty-first century, the 'global' pervades the multicultural social fabric of the
city through the relentless spread of 'hybrid cultural objects' and it has the symbolic
power to transform urban spaces by creating the 'global imaginary' in a single place.
This paper aims to grasp how the shift from the 'multicultural' to the 'global' is
increasingly generating a new visual global regime of representation and signification
in Melbourne. Exemplified by a body of still images – one of which is analyzed and
interpreted through the lens of social and political theory – this paper investigates how
symbols found in the urban space of Melbourne construct a new social imaginary that
is simultaneously local, national and global. In visualizing and interpreting global
change in Melbourne, this paper observes that, while Australia's multicultural
philosophy seems to be an exhausted discourse, exceeded by the 'global', Asia
appears as a primary cultural globalizing force reshaping one of the most multicultural
cities in the world.

Keywords: Multiculturalism, Globalization, Global change, Social imaginary, New
visual regime of signification, Representation, Hybrid cultural objects

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Introduction

This paper provides some information about multiculturalism and globalization in Australia by focusing on the capital city of the state of Victoria, Melbourne. In particular, by understanding multiculturalism as a process of globalization, this investigation looks at the rise of the 'global imaginary' as a new visual regime of representation and signification. In doing so, the paper observes that — due to the ongoing process of cultural hybridization and globalization — the multicultural framework fails to capture change at the level of representation. Change is increasingly affected by the 'global', where Asia seems to act as the main globalizing and reshaping force at local-national level in Melbourne. This paper will also analyze and interpret one visual evidence to better understand how the shift from the multicultural to the global is symbolically and socially produced.

Australia: Immigration and Multiculturalism

With a resident population of about 22 million people, almost half of which were born in a foreign country (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2011, p. 9), Australia is a typical example, along with the United States of America and Canada, of the major immigrate countries in the world. Melbourne, the capital city of Victoria, is Australia's most multicultural city (Australian Bureau of Statistic, 2011).

The arrival of the first European settlers in 1788, mostly transported convicts, was the beginning of more than a hundred years during which the separate colonies of the British Empire, New South Wales, Tasmania, Victoria, South Australia, Queensland and Western Australia, had their own immigration policies (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Melbourne's horse-drawn carriage with Imperial Crown and Australian Flag. Copyright [2010] by Tommaso Durante. Retrieved April 28, 2014 from http://www.the-visual-archive-project-of-the-global-imaginary.com by T. Durante.

Over the period leading to the federation of Australia in 1901 there was a steady growth in immigration mostly associated with gold rushes and the development of the agricultural frontier in Terra Australis. The flow of people mainly came from Britain,

although there was also a major stream of Chinese immigrants associated with the mining boom in the 1870s and 1880s, particularly in Victoria, and significant waves of migrants from Germany in the 1840s and 1850s, as well as of Italians and Greeks, especially in the early twentieth century. As measure of control and reaction, one of the first acts of the Commonwealth Federation of Australia was to declare the White Australia Policy inscribed in the Immigration Restriction Act in 1901, which limited immigration to Europeans, especially those from the British Islands. The White Australia Policy was eventually dismantled in 1972 (Australian Government, 2014).

The first wave of immigrants arrived in Australia in the 1830s and it was represented by a European settlement of mostly Anglo-Celtic people who displaced the area's original inhabitants, the people of the Kulin nation. In examining Australian immigration, the Second World War is a period of history that marked a turning point in the making of the modern Australia's nation-state. In that period immigration to Australia reached a new high level, which has been maintained over most of the subsequent six decades, with rises and falls associated with regional economic crises, wars and conflict zones, combined with shifts in the national immigration policy. However, the significant shift in the scale of immigration is only one element in the transformation of immigration to Australia in the post-war period and in particular in Melbourne, the city under investigation.

As previously acknowledged, Melbourne's population is made up of people from all over the world. Around 140 cultures are represented there: from Victoria's original Indigenous inhabitants to more recent migrants from Asia and Africa. The city's multicultural community includes people from the United Kingdom, China, Italy, India, Greece, Somalia, South Korea, New Zealand, Malaysia, Indonesia, Vietnam, Japan and so forth. Although some of these communities have arrived only recently, others, such as Chinese, Italian and Greek, came early in Melbourne's history and contributed significantly to shape the city's modern identity (City of Melbourne, 2014).

From the early seventies, multiculturalism has been a sort of bipartisan Australian policy and part of the Australian national philosophy, beyond the different approaches and social justice agenda of the various governments. Multiculturalism remains today's Australia's official policy, although in the last decade it has been significantly discussed and contested at academic level as well as in media and popular discourses (Baber, 2008; Hirst, 2005; Hodge & O'Carroll, 2006; Soutphommasane, 2013). At federal government level we are currently observing a shift in the approach to this theme, with a renewed focus on the border control and military defence (Australian Government, Department of Immigration and Border Protection, 2014). This trend is also based on the assumption that ethnic integration requires the assimilation of Australian values, with a significant recurrence in the political speeches of the last decade of concepts like 'social cohesion'. Nevertheless, multiculturalism still represents a successful story in the social imaginary of the nation, something to be celebrated, as it happens on Australia Day.

A brief analysis of the concept of multiculturalism

Multicultural societies have a long history; from the Ottoman Empire at the height of its power in the sixteenth century, to the United States of America from the early

nineteenth century onwards. However the term 'multiculturalism' is of relatively recent origin and it was formally adopted in 1965 in Canada to describe a distinctive approach to cultural diversity (Heywood, 2007, p. 310). The online Oxford English Dictionary defines the term 'multicultural' as 'relating to or containing several cultural or ethnic groups within a society' (2014). Therefore the term is bound to an idea of ethnicity that is both attached and immutable. Concurring with Jan Nederveen Pieterse, it is necessary to problematize the notion of ethnicity itself (2007, p. 112). The social theorist states that '[e]thnicity fades into race, nationalism, multiculturalism, identity politics, and community. Its significance and dynamics are conjunctural, contingent.' (2007, p. 112) This supports the idea that when we talk about 'multiculturalism' the term can be approached by different perspectives with different meanings.

Multiculturalism finds its origin in the eighteenth century and it is grounded in the emancipation from tradition and authority and, in the anti-imperialist anthropology, it was based on the equal dignity of cultures (Baber, 2008, p. 55). However, the most evident paradox of multiculturalism is that it grants the same treatment to all communities, but not to the people who form them (Bruckner, 2007). More clearly: in denying people from a specific ethnic cultural identity the freedom to liberate themselves from their own traditions, paradoxically multiculturalism forces people into cultural ghettos of their own systems of beliefs, traditions and ideologies. In other words, under the philosophical umbrella of respecting specificity, individuals are forced into an ethnic or racial definition, which plunges them into a ghetto-condition, chaining them to their roots, from which they were supposedly being freed (Bruckner, 2007). The images accompanying this paper attempt to visualize this point.

Thus, at the dawn of the twenty-first century, multiculturalism is one of the most controversial ideological topics in contemporary politics. Multiculturalism lays the foundation of Australia as a modern nation-state. While this social organization and national philosophy has had some positive impacts on Australian society – and thus the term can have very positive connotations for many Australians –, it also suggests ideological fragmentation and cultural ethnic divide. Indeed it represents a very sophisticated imagined form of society. This reminds me of the Roman ruler Caesar's maxim, *divide et impera* [divide and conquer], in its use of social and political power to exert control over society.

Following Pieterse's argumentation on the distinction between static and closed and fluid and open views of culture that produce contrasting perspectives on multiculturalism (2007, p. 135), this study understands multiculturalism as a mutual cultural toleration in a defined socio-historical context accommodating multiple cultures in a state of continuous contamination. I refer to globalization as an ongoing set of interrelated processes rather than something already concluded and defined. Thus, by taking into due account globalization and its cultural contaminations, this paper looks at cultural identity as something in a continuous state of change and transformation. In this respect, I argue that cultural hybridization is the product of globalization processes which in turn contributes to an exhaustion of the multicultural regime of signification in Melbourne. Indeed, it represents the human condition at the dawn of this new century. In other words, the intimate articulation between multiculturalism and globalization (Pietersee, 2007, 2009; Tomlinson, 1999) is the

presupposition of the production of a global culture, and this has socio-political and cultural implications.

Thus, far away from an Australia's past ideal of accommodating multiple cultures in a single place, I argue that – despite the rhetoric of celebrating difference – multiculturalism as Australian 'national policy' does little more than facilitating assimilation within the dominant neoliberal global ideology (Galligan & Roberts, 2004, p. 94). As a consequence, due to the effect of the intensification of the global processes, multiculturalism in Melbourne appears to be an empty, a coercive ritual confined to the symbolic domain of folkloristic and commercial representations—like the yearly Australia Day celebrations (Figure 2 and 3).

Figure 2. Iranian Society of Victoria, Australia Day Parade, Melbourne, Australia. Copyright [2014] by Tommaso Durante. Retrieved April 28, 2014 from http://www.the-visual-archive-project-of-the-global-imaginary.com by T. Durante.

Figure 3. Kleenex paper towels, The Kimberly-Clark Corporation USA, Coles Supermarket, Melbourne. Copyright [2013] by Tommaso Durante. Retrieved May 2, 2014 from http://www.the-visual-archive-project-of-the-global-imaginary.com by T. Durante.

Deeply aware that no discourses operate in isolation but, on the contrary, they are very much intimately intertwined, a significant outcome of global processes is the 'ethnic economy' (Sassen, 2000). Thus, it can be observed that in the socio-historical context of the global age, the philosophic ideal of a multicultural society serves to manage the complexity of the labour market and to avoid consequences related to cultural diversity. Eventually, the complimentary discourse of multiculturalism and globalization emerges as a form of society in which the different ethnic interfaces represent and work as a major form of socio-political control.

In 2007 Australia removed the word 'multiculturalism' from the name of the Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, calling it Department of Immigration and Citizenship, yet most of the policies related to multiculturalism are still in charge with alternate fortune and decline, depending on the type of government ruling the country. Thus, I argue that in the age of neoliberal globalization – the new economic and political world order –, multiculturalism embodies a fragmented and highly hybridized ideological landscape, rather than a social national imaginary or a national philosophy. Multiculturalism, as a symbolic system of values, seems exhausted at the level of representation and superseded by the symbolic power of the war-machine that is the new visual regime of signification: the 'global'. The new visual regime lies on the increasing production, circulation and consumption of hybrid cultural assemblages that 'condense' spatial-symbolic scales of the local, national and the global (Figure 4).

Figure 4. Swanston Street, Melbourne, Australia, Royal fans wait in Federation Square. Copyright [2014] by Tommaso Durante. Retrieved May 2, 2014 from http://www.the-visual-archive-project-of-the-global-imaginary.com by T. Durante.

Critically approaching multiculturalism and globalization as material and ideational processes, this study examines the symbolic and social construction of multiculturalism and globalization as interconnected discourses. Discourses that

engage with each other by frequently overlapping and, eventually, by contributing to the shift from the 'national' to the 'global' with the rise of a new public consciousness—the 'global imaginary' (Steger, 2008).

The global imaginary and the rise of a new visual regime of signification in Melbourne

In the last two decades an epochal change has occurred in the way in which human beings imagine, communicate and fit together. Swift changes in the production, circulation and consumption of images, signs and symbols led the visual to eclipse the textual and dominate the world. As a consequence, the symbolic domain of the visual has been recognized as being as important as that one of language and theory since, as WJT Mitchell argues, '[i]mages are active players in the game of establishing and changing values. They are capable of introducing new values into the world and thus of threatening old ones' (2005, p. 105). Furthermore, the increasing production, circulation and consumption of a particular type of image, which I identified as 'hybrid cultural assemblage' of globality, have the symbolic power to transform urban spaces by creating the global imaginary in a single place (Figure 5). Informed by these theories, I am approaching globalization as a material and ideational process by expanding Steger's notion of global imaginary (2008, 2009a, 2009b, 2009c) to its 'visual-ideological dimension' (Durante, 2013). In doing so, I also follow Pieterse's view of globalization as a process of cultural hybridization which gives rise to a global mélange (1994, 2009).

Figure 5. Falun Dafa members, 7 Eleven and Vodafone logo brands, Bourke Street, Melbourne. Copyright [2012] by Tommaso Durante. Retrieved May 2, 2014 from http://www.the-visual-archive-project-of-the-global-imaginary.com by T. Durante.

Whilst globalization is often discussed in academic and public discourses as a phenomenon in itself, by critically approaching the multidimensional process of changes and transformations this paper regards it as a symbolic and social construct. In doing so, this study attempts to unfold the means and purposes of its symbolic and social production in Melbourne, Australia, to better understand the rise of a new visual regime of signification that is replacing the exhausted multicultural national

philosophy and its regime of representation and signification. By 'walking in the city' (de Certeau, 1998), it can be appreciated how the production, circulation and consumption of visual formations condensing the different spatial-symbolic scales of the 'global' are increasingly affecting Melbourne's multicultural identity by destabilizing the modern Australian self-contained nation-state.

Globalization as cultural hybridization

This study began with the consideration that multiculturalism and globalization are mutually related. After having previously clarified the two concepts, I add that in this context I refer to globalization as related to the compression of world-time and world-space, and to the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole (Robertson, 2000). This means acknowledging the acceleration of the global interdependencies of people, structures and discourses and the shift from the national to the global represented by the rise of the global imaginary. This mindset represents a new public consciousness, that of being-in-a-global-interconnected-world, which in our everyday life is broadly understood as the common sense of the global. That is the standpoint from which I approached and attempted to grasp and explain how the global imaginary is overwhelming multiculturalism in Melbourne.

Concurring with John Tomlinson, 'globalization lies at the heart of modern culture; cultural practices lie at the heart of globalization' (2011, p. 1). Thus, there is a reciprocal relationship. However, this is not to say that globalization is the single determinant of contemporary cultural experience, or that the visual-ideological aspect that this study attempts to unfold is the key to access globalization's inner dynamics. Instead, I point out that the transformative processes affecting all the domains of societies cannot be better understood until they are grasped through their visual-ideological dimension. Likewise these changes indeed affect our sense of what multiculturalism and globalization actually are at the dawn of this new century. Deeply aware that the meaning of globalization and multiculturalism are notoriously contested concepts, this paper certainly does not aim at a complete analysis of the exhaustion of multiculturalism and the rise of the global imaginary. Rather, this paper tries to grasp the main elements of globalization and multiculturalism by a visual methodological approach to better understand how the exhaustion of Melbourne's multicultural philosophy is manifested.

Furthermore, the debate on the economic and cultural forces that shape globalization helps to explain the exhaustion of the multicultural philosophy in Australia and especially in Melbourne. Globalization, by its very nature, is grounded into the local-national. This also means that the phenomenon produces constant tension between sameness and differences, between cultural homogenization and cultural heterogenization. (Appadurai, 1990; Bhabha, 1994) Before going to analyze and interpret one image through case study method and through the lenses of social and political theory, I deem it necessary to provide a brief socio-historical sketch of what is defined as Australia's most multicultural city, Melbourne.

Global processes, local knowledges: Melbourne

In 2011 Melbourne was ranked in the Global Innovation Cites Index as the 20th largest city economy in the world (Innovation Cities Program, 2011). In modern times

with the historical implications of the shift made by global media, communication and marketing, it is no longer possible to consider the city of Melbourne as being far away from the rest of the world. Indeed, due to the new geopolitical configuration of the global capitalistic economy, Melbourne appears strategically located in the Asia Pacific-Rim. Furthermore, Melbourne's main airport is, after Sydney, the busiest in Australia and its seaport is Australia's busiest for containerized and general cargo. (Dowling, 2011) These elements indicate the growing globalization process occurring in Melbourne, with no other city in Australia having ever recorded growth of this size (Colebatch, 2011).

If identity is a crucial aspect for people, products and places, then Melbourne offers all types of products and many places – like Piazza Italia in Carlton, the Chinese Museum and the recently built Vietnamese gate in Victoria Street – that help people to symbolically identify themselves with their cultural roots. However, the multicultural Australia of few decades ago has changed again and the government's multicultural philosophy seems to strategically control the whole Australian society through its ethnic cultural and political interfaces on top of which the Anglo-Celtic outnumbers all others (Hage & Johnson, 1993, pp. 113-134; O'Donnell & Johnstone 1997, p. 11).

At the same time Australia's international outlook has been reshaped in the past decade and the focus is increasingly on Asia. This change has been gradual and to different extents for the various sectors of Australian society (Australian Bureau of Statistic, 2009). The countries leading the global economy are mainly based in Asia, with unprecedented and strong implications for Australia; implications that are not only economic, but also have a socio-political and cultural nature; and they are profoundly affecting cultural identities.

I selected Melbourne because it is Australia's fastest growing and globalizing city and therefore a 'representational space' of ideological intensity (Lefebvre, 2008; Soja, 1996, 2003), due to the huge circulation and consumption of hybrid cultural assemblages that 'condense' spatial-symbolic scales of the local-national and the global. Thus, before continuing, I find useful to provide a brief outline of how the global imaginary can be traced.

How can the global imaginary be traced?

As previously acknowledged, this study aims to investigate the new visual regime of representation and signification generated in Melbourne by the shift from the 'multicultural' to the 'global'. The samples were collected in fieldwork conducted twice a year, for a period of four years during, the months of January-February and July-August from July 2010 to February 2014.

In establishing the selection criteria for the choice of the visual material used in this study, I considered that images were eligible to be classified as 'hybrid cultural assemblages' of globality when they showed the condensation of spatial-symbolic scales of the 'local-national' and the 'global' in one single event, in one visual formation. I adopted the following interpretative strategies: 1) identifying key themes in my sources; 2) examining their effect of persuasion; and 3) making visible links and pathways.

In particular, during the stage of analysis and interpretation I considered the way in which the 'global' is symbolically injected into the 'local-national'. The following are the key visual constructs I am looking for:

1) A single event in which the presence of images, symbols and signs represents the spatial-symbolic scales or stands for the local, national and the global;
2) The visual formations that represent the mediation or the collapse of the different spatial-symbolic scales of the 'global';
3) All the less obvious signs and symbols that evoke or suggest the destabilization of local-national meaning through hybrid cultural assemblages of textual and visual metaphors.

By visual metaphors I refer to a representation through images that evokes a particular association of visually conveyed meanings.

New approach to the aesthetics of globalization

I wish to point out that in this study the media representations are analysed and interpreted in relation to their actual forms. In other words, I take into consideration the actual symbols: signs, figures, images, narratives and words - the material forms in which meaning is circulated - and the context in which they are produced and interpreted. I am going to provide an example of interpretation by using one visual evidence (Figure 6) drawn, like the others accompanying this paper, from The Visual Archive Project of the Global Imaginary' (Durante, 2009-ongoing).

Figure 8. China Bar Signature advertisement, Melbourne. Copyright [2011] by Tommaso Durante. Retrieved May 8, 2014 from http://www.the-visual-archive-project-of-the-global-imaginary.com by T. Durante.

Analysis and interpretation of China Bar Signature advertisement in Melbourne

Although it seems an apparently obvious photo depicting the opening of a new gathering place in Melbourne, the China Bar Signature advertisement is a very interesting example of cultural hybridization. The place in the picture was developed to operate on multiple levels in the core of the city CBD, on the corner of Little Bourke Street and Russell Street. Located in the Chinese cultural precinct, at first glance the restaurant seems just part of the city landscape and therefore looks quite

'natural'. However, this 'Asian buffet', as the new bar is advertised, is part of the consolidation of the phenomenon of the Asian-Chinese retail business in Melbourne, which in the last decade is increasingly reshaping the urban fabric and affecting the multicultural character of the city.

A close-up of this photograph shows a large-size poster covering the new bar's entrance. The poster portrays a seductive, submissive young woman whose only connection with the concept of food is in her hairstyle, which consists of a pair of chopsticks and a sushi roll. This macro-detail makes the difference by catching the viewer/consumer attention. In this context the ideological gendered male gaze suggests a visual pleasure that links food and female allure. The young woman displays a mix of Western beauty and Chinese fashion and the media representation, on the whole, approaches the viewer/consumer though a hybrid combination of English and Chinese language.

China Bar Signature advertisement is not focused on the quality of the consumer goods: the 'Asian buffet' experience is strongly related to an emotionally charged lifestyle that articulates local-national meanings around the 'global'. In doing so, the China Bar Signature media representation affects cultural identity at local-national scale. In other words, this image clearly shows us how the global imaginary captures, adapts and alters local-national meanings by transforming local places into a global microplace.

When critically approached, this picture makes visible links and pathways, and the discursive 'regime of truth' that it produces, by also disclosing the macro-power channelled through this particular type of visual image. More precisely, in this selected image as well as in the other ones accompanying this paper, the condensation of spatial-symbolic scales of local-national and the 'global' transcends the geopolitical borders of Australia. In doing so, they contribute to changing, reorienting and altering local-national meanings by giving more symbolic power to the global.

To make it clearer, it can be observed that the Euro-Asian woman (Figure 8) would have never been on a billboard two or three decades ago in Melbourne, even though Chinese restaurants have been operating in Melbourne since 1863 (Nichol, 2012). Figure 8 depicts a visual formation that relies on the glamour of a reimagined China, and Asian food more broadly, through which we detect the fragmentation and re-composition of a hybrid assemblage of cultural identities at local-global scale. Furthermore, the image of the Euro-Asian woman is of indeterminate ethnic origin. Analysis of similar advertisements in the past 30 years would have shown mainly surfie guys and blondes.

Conclusion

This paper has argued that in Melbourne, in the last decade, multiculturalism has evolved into an exhausted ideological system of values, overwhelmed by the symbolic power of the global. As a consequence multiculturalism in Australia appears to be a redundant parade of cultural and social divide, as displayed by the selection of images accompanying this paper. Indeed, it seems to me that, due to the spread of the processes of globalization, multiculturalism is turned into a tool of social and political control. This happens through the implicit expectation that groups of people fit into

what appears to be today a superimposed cultural frame in a context of intense contamination, ideological fragmentation and, eventually, of hybridization.

Living in Melbourne, I chose my city for this study on the basis of my everyday observation of its urban social fabric, and also by considering the existing literature on the subject. In the stage of collection, selection, analysis and interpretation of the visual evidence, I observed and explained how the production, circulation and consumption of hybrid cultural assemblages are part of the neoliberal economic globalization and of its new global order. The new global order sees Asia, and China in particular, as leading the global economy. This is clearly evidenced by the images accompanying this paper that depict how urban spaces in Melbourne are increasingly mediated by the global in the general fabric of its symbolic environment.

In order to adequately consider the ways people are experiencing the symbolic and social construction of the global imaginary—globalization in Melbourne, it may be necessary to move beyond the social cohesion agenda that relies upon the ideal of a lost harmonious multicultural community in this city and also to look at contestations. In doing so, it is also needed to take into due consideration the different materiality of the web as well as social media and networking practices. Interestingly, the collected visual evidence made of the images accompanying this paper seems to suggest that now Asia, rather than North America or Europe, appears to be the primary globalizing force in Melbourne at the dawn of the twenty-first century.

The multi-ethnic composition of contemporary Australian society is undoubtedly an overcoming of this past policy, but I cannot avoid commenting that the plurality of cultural identities also tends to undermine social solidarity. Beyond the political good will to accommodate different ethnics cultures in a defined socio-historical context, this study looks at multiculturalism as a perspective that actively encourages the promotion of separate cultural practices. As a relatively recent immigrant, I perceive multiculturalism as a strategic political device that not only acknowledges cultural diversity but also harbours the potential to segregate and discourage immigrant members of ethnic minorities from integrating into mainstream Australian culture. I also observe that today the exhaustion of multiculturalism is strongly suggested, supported and sustained by the shifting mindset of the global imaginary, the new common sense of the global.

The body of images that are part of this paper and the case study previously considered help to grasp the new shifting mindset—the global imaginary that is replacing the exhausted Australian multicultural national philosophy at level of social practices, imaginaries and ideologies. Although these images are highly subjective, selective and represent a limited account of the topic under investigation, still they are crucial keys to access the global imaginary to understand how it is symbolically and socially produced. Nevertheless, the possibility of conducting fieldwork in more Australian cities would undoubtedly contribute to a better understanding of the exhaustion of the multicultural philosophy and the rise of a new visual global regime of representation and signification.

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